

# League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

## Discussion Bulletin 1972

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#### POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The line of this resolution was adopted  
by the Central Committee for submission  
to the 1972 convention.

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## **POLITICAL RESOLUTION (LSA-LSO)**

*From the cover page: "The line of this resolution was adopted by the Central Committee for submission to the 1972 convention – July." (However, the 1972 convention was delayed to 1973, and a revised **Political Resolution** was submitted by the new leadership of the LSA-LSO, with the result that this resolution was never presented and debated for adoption.) See the replacement 1973 Political Resolution on this website with critical comments –ed.)*

*Preface page:* The purpose of the following resolution is to trace the outline and main features of the developing radicalization in Canada, to explain the roots of the radicalization within the nature of capitalism in Canada, to describe the component parts of the coming socialist revolution and the role of the Trotskyist movement in the revolutionary process.

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## **1. WHERE IS CANADA HEADING?**

Across Canada's vast expanse, in the mines, logging camps, offices, schools and homes; on the assembly lines and farms; in the boardrooms of the tycoons who rake in vast profits from the exploitation of the country's extensive natural resources, this question is posed more sharply and urgently today than at any time since the formation of the Canadian state over one hundred years ago.

This is no accident.

South of the "longest undefended border in the world" the American ruling class has turned its awesome technology, now specialized in the production of instruments of death and destruction, to the task of reversing the revolutionary process unfolding on every continent. But that revolutionary process promises to result in the total reorganization of the social order from top to bottom on a world scale.

A new social order is struggling to replace one which in the eyes of millions of working people has long out lived its usefulness — which serves the interests of a minority of profiteers at the expense of the masses of humanity and threatens humankind with nuclear destruction. In this process, the future of humanity will be decided.

Already well over a third of humanity has torn itself away from the capitalist mode of production to live in post-capitalist social systems on the way to the establishment of socialism. Despite enormous difficulties and hardships, the masses in the post capitalist societies are striving to build a socialist democracy on the basis of their new property relations.

Canada will not be exempt from this historical process. The very features which today uniquely characterize this country will tomorrow contribute to the maturing of the revolutionary process, in accordance with the lawful course of history on a global scale.

As part of the advanced capitalist sector of the world in its death throes, all indications are that Canada is now entering the period of the greatest revolutionary change in its history. The Canadian profit system, as part of a dying world system is being buffeted by powerful social forces which in the next period of Canadian history will bring it to its knees.

### **Crisis of World imperialism**

The developing crisis before the Canadian ruling class has its roots in the declining fortunes and perspectives facing world imperialism headed by the most powerful of ruling classes, its "neighbor", the capitalist class in the United States.

Emerging from the second imperialist war at the head of a weakened world imperialist system, the U.S. rulers were faced with the responsibility to see that the international profit system was not consumed in the revolutionary upsurges that occurred both in Europe and the colonial world, in the aftermath of the war. To restabilize West European capitalism, build a bulwark against the East European workers states, and — not least — provide new markets for U.S. investment — Washington elaborated the Marshall Plan and, with the special assistance of Canada in both cases, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and The United Nations, which for all their humanitarian garnish, furthered U.S. political hegemony on a world scale.

But now, the balance of forces has shifted decisively against world imperialism despite the many ebbs and flows in the development of the revolutionary process of the last 25 years. This shift poses a direct challenge to the power and authority of the U.S. rulers on Wall Street and in the White House.

Having suffered a catastrophic defeat with the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 and in Cuba ten years later, this time on its own doorstep, the U.S. ruling class is now attempting to hold the line in Indochina.

Determined to intimidate and behead the revolutionary process in Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the U.S. rulers are conducting a genocidal war against the revolutionary masses in Southeast Asia. The Indochinese masses have demonstrated to the oppressed of the world the capacity of an impoverished, looted and ravaged people to sustain a long struggle against the most powerful imperialist force in the world. Their example must be destroyed by the U.S. ruling class or they will have little hope of rolling back the revolutionary tide.

Yet after a decade of struggle between the Indochinese masses and the military machine of the U.S. imperialists, the Indochinese revolution remains unbeaten. It continues to be the focus of the decisive world contest between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution.

The war has brought to a head the deep-rooted explosive contradictions of world imperialism.

It has sparked off a profound and continuing economic crisis for world capitalism and unleashed an unprecedented international radicalization among the youth of the world which promises to continue its forward course until, within the bastion of world imperialism itself, the mighty forces of the American working class have contended for state power.

The struggle of the Indochina freedom fighters has inspired and propelled forward all sectors of the world revolution. It has challenged the apparent invincibility of Wall Street, encouraging a new upsurge of national liberation forces throughout the colonial and semicolonial world — the Palestinians struggling against Zionism and world imperialism; the African guerrilla forces struggling against Portuguese colonialism; the Bangladesh liberation struggle; and, within the imperialist heartland, the Irish and Québécois. Washington's setbacks in Southeast Asia have severely restricted its ability to intervene elsewhere against liberation movements.

But perhaps the most significant impact of the war has been the development in the United States itself of a powerful anti-war movement. Supported by the majority of American youth and reaching into the ranks of the conscript army, especially on the battlefield, the antiwar movement is the major factor restraining U.S. imperialism from counter-revolutionary intervention elsewhere in the world, or from the employment of nuclear weapons in Vietnam that could take the world right over the brink of destruction.

As it deepens and broadens, the anti-war sentiment has served to radicalize ever-widening layers of the American population, especially the youth, many of whom have been led by revulsion against the war to question and challenge the most cherished and fundamental myths and institutions of the "American (capitalist) way of life".

So costly is Washington's role of world cop for imperialism that it increasingly limits the ability of U.S. capitalism to respond to the growing demands of these radicalizing layers. The United States rulers have consumed up to \$30 billion a year on the Indochina war, and an estimated \$44 billion to maintain their far-flung military empire of bases and military "aid" to client regimes. The massive inflation these expenditures have entailed has served to lower the living standards of American workers, to undermine the strength of the U.S. dollar, decreasing the competitiveness of U.S. goods on the world market and further undermining the stability of the economy.

At the same time, U.S. capitalism's chief competitors, Western European and Japanese imperialisms, benefiting from their relatively modern industrial plant and the low wages of their workers, have been steadily closing their productivity gap with the United States.

Nixon's response on August 15, 1971 — a wage freeze and protectionist measures to decrease foreign competition in the U.S. market and increase the competitiveness of U.S. goods overseas — marked major turning-point for postwar capitalism and the fortunes of U.S. imperialism and its partners, including Canada. The wage freeze and subsequent controls indicate that American workers are to be forced to pay more directly for the maintenance of the U.S. military empire. But the deep-felt hostility of the American masses toward the war means that extensive prolongation of U.S. aggression can lead to massive social struggles erupting within American society, that could extend the radicalization to broad layers of workers.

Through such measures as the 10 percent surcharge on manufactured imports — ultimately a means of transferring a part of the cost of the war onto the backs of other sectors of the world working class including the Canadian workers — Nixon has moved the world capitalist economy a big step closer toward a revival of the escalating trade wars and

competitive devaluations that characterized the worldwide depression of the 1930s. At a time when the capitalist world is moving steadily toward a generalized crisis of overproduction — characterized by some form of incomes policies in almost all the major capitalist countries, and sharpening international trade competition — the growing crisis of U.S. imperialism threatens to provoke concurrent recessions in the major capitalist countries in the next period.

World imperialism is now entering a period of great instability that sets the framework for massive social struggles in all the capitalist countries.

The impact of the Indochinese revolution is also being felt in the workers states. Opposition currents, inspired by the struggles of the Indochinese revolutionary forces and the growing evidence of the revolutionary potential in the advanced capitalist countries, have moved out boldly challenging their bureaucratic rulers. Demands for national self-determination and socialist democracy raised by courageous individuals in the Soviet Union, on a mass scale in the Czechoslovakian Prague Spring and more recently in Poland, are harbingers of the political revolutions that will restore or establish for the first time workers democracy on the nationalized property foundations of those countries.

The Indochina war, itself conclusive proof of the murderous intentions of U.S. and world imperialism — its never changing drive to overthrow all the workers states and to restore capitalism around the globe, has exposed on a monstrous scale the counterrevolutionary role of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies' policy of "peaceful co-existence" and secret diplomacy with U.S. imperialism. Moscow and Peking, in the summit talks with Nixon, have stabbed the Vietnamese revolution in the back. Moving to rescue Nixon from the impasse of the Vietnam war, Moscow and Peking have made a deal to pressure Vietnam to give up at the bargaining table what Nixon could not exact from them in war.

The bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking, have placed a new question mark over the outcome of this struggle. Whatever the outcome, the sustained struggles and victories won by the Vietnamese have provided a crucial lesson to millions of oppressed peoples: that even in the absence of an effective world revolutionary leadership, U.S. imperialism has been unable to reverse the tide of revolution. What Washington intended to be an object lesson to the freedom movements everywhere has been converted into an object lesson on the limitations of the ability of U.S. imperialism to police the world.

## **The Developing Crisis Facing Canadian Capitalism**

The historic life-and-death struggle between the new world socialist system — a worldwide planned economy for the benefit of humanity — and the decaying, destructive imperialist system headed by U.S. capitalism, leaves untouched no country, no ruling class or the masses they exploit. The bourgeoisie of every capitalist country, Canada included, is caught in the vortex of this world confrontation.

Indochina is a crucial test of their system, their capacity to halt the advance of the postwar colonial revolution, to reverse the revolutionary process, and to win back for imperialist exploitation those areas of the world already torn from their grasp.

The capitalist rulers of Canada have been totally committed to Washington's counterrevolutionary strategy in Southeast Asia as indeed throughout the world.

Canada has been directly complicit in the U.S. Indochina aggression since Ottawa's decision in 1954 to participate in the International Control Commission. At each stage of the war, each new escalation of Washington's genocidal aggression, the Canadian government has blocked (*formed a bloc*) with and fronted for U.S. imperialism, using any means at its disposal — from spying for the U.S. on the battlefields, to its million dollar a day arms sales to the Pentagon.

With the Trudeau-Kosygin exchange visits and Canada's belated recognition of the People's Republic of China, Ottawa blazed the trail for Nixon's current attempts to use the Moscow and Peking bureaucratic betrayers to salvage a political settlement at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The role of diplomatic envoy, of apologist and abettor of the crimes of world imperialism is not new for the Canadian ruling class, which has consistently collaborated with its U.S. mentor in attempting to block the spread of world revolution. Canada played a prominent role in the founding of the United Nations under whose flag the Congolese revolution was betrayed and crushed. Under the same auspices Canadian and U.S. troops participated in the first “peace keeping” intervention in Korea where they succeeded in blocking and confining the Korean revolution to the northern half of that country at the cost of bringing the world perilously close to a nuclear holocaust.

Canada subsequently refined and developed this “peace keeping” role. In 1956 when the British, French and Israeli governments’ adventurous assaults on Egypt threatened to imperil all imperialist holdings in the Middle East, Canada stepped in with Lester Pearson’s proposal for a “United Nations Emergency Force” to save the day for imperialist interests. Canada specializes in training troops in counter-insurgency and counter-guerrilla warfare.

Through its participation in NATO, the North American Air Defense and now, with its foot in the door as an observer in the Organization of American States, the Latin American counter-revolutionary agency run by the U.S. State Department, the Canadian ruling class has clearly defined its role as a counter-revolutionary force on a world scale.

As the interests of the Canadian ruling class become more tightly interlocked with those of the U.S. imperialists, Canada feels every tremor in the U.S. system. Canadian capitalism is headed into a period of profound social instability and crisis – of profound questioning of the system by growing numbers of persons, which will find a growing willingness of masses of Canadians to take action in their own defense against the injustices of a system over which they have no control.

## **2. CONTRADICTIONS OF CANADIAN CAPITALISM**

Although Canada has a staggering reserve of energy resources and some of the most highly developed plant and technology in the world, the basic needs of millions of its working people have not been met, and will not be met under this system.

Canada is increasingly dominated by a relatively small number of giant monopoly corporations which manipulate vast amounts of capital on a world scale in violation of the interests of the people in Canada.

While productivity in the last 20 years has risen enormously, the ability of working people to buy the goods they produce has dropped. Since 1949 the real wage of the average worker in manufacturing has increased by less than half as much as his or her productivity.

Today, families with a net income of less than \$12,000 have no hope of buying homes; masses of working people are forced to live at the mercy of corporate landlords. One third of the Canadian population, by official figures, lives in perpetual poverty or near-poverty. Unemployment — much of it consciously created by the government as an anti-inflation device — stands at well over a half million. Close to one in four youths between the ages of 14 and 24 not in the school system are unemployed.

Consistent with the pattern of monopoly capitalist exploitation, the tremendous growth in Canada’s productive capacity has been accompanied by an enormous expansion of state expenditure serving in one way or another the giant corporations that dominate the economy. The funds for this rising state expenditure — now equivalent to over 40 percent of the Gross National Product — are raised through a thoroughly and increasingly regressive tax system in which the workers pay by far the biggest part.

Women, 53 percent of the population, receive wages just over half those of men. Abortion and birth control laws deny women the right to control their lives and condemn them to live under the yoke of state-enforced motherhood.

Farmers, caught in a cost-price squeeze resulting from monopoly control of supplies and distribution, are fast being eliminated as an independent class of small producers. Farming today is highly capitalized; according to the 1966 census, the top 4.6 percent of farms in Canada, those with cash sales of over \$25,000 a year, account for 31.6 percent of

all sales. Technological innovations have increased farm productivity much faster than productivity in manufacturing. But most farmers, far from benefiting, have been shoved off the land at an increasing pace, to join the workers or the unemployed in the cities. Today the vast majority of farms are uneconomic operations; 78 percent of Canadian farms have cash sales of under \$2,500 a year.

Barely 5 percent of the population is engaged in farming – 25% fewer farming operations than 10 years ago. And of these, close to half do some off-farm work, and between 15 and 20 percent, according to government statistics, have nearly full-time non-farm jobs. Federal government policies project a further elimination from farming of two-thirds of present farm families over the next 15 years.

Whole regions of the country have been written off by Canada's rulers in search of profits in other areas. These regions are doomed to a slow death, in which hundreds of thousands lose even the miserable fruits of their life's labor. During the past decade 150,000 persons have emigrated from the Atlantic provinces to other areas of Canada and the United States.

Not only entire regions, but entire peoples have been written off by capitalism. The vast majority of Canada's half million native peoples live in the most abject poverty, on the outer fringes of Canadian society. Over half the Indians are unemployed, with an average life expectancy of 33 years. One third of Canada's prison and reformatory population is Indian.

The six million Québécois, ranked 12<sup>th</sup> in income in Quebec after immigrant ethnic groups, are super-exploited as an oppressed nation which is defined by its own language, culture and territory. The 300,000 Acadiens, rapidly developing a national consciousness, are similarly oppressed.

Canada's rulers are threatening to pass on the new difficulties facing their economy by taking measures that closely parallel those of the U.S. ruling class with the necessary adaptations to fit the particular alignment of class forces in Canada. Ottawa's Prices and Incomes Commission has been pulled out of mothballs to reinforce a boss-government campaign against wage increases backed by the threat of government-enforced wage controls "if necessary", and stepped up legislative and administrative attacks on the trade unions. Unemployment through closures and mass layoffs further serves to intimidate workers.

In short Canada provides a clear example of one of the central features and contradictions of capitalism: on the one hand, the virtually unlimited expansion of production; on the other, the growing inability of the mass of the working people to buy the products of their labor, the increased instability and insecurity of a majority of the population.

## **The Radicalization**

These burning contradictions lead us to the ever-present threat that capitalism's war drive can precipitate a nuclear holocaust. Together with the irrepressible struggles of popular forces across the globe, these are the underlying factors that fuel a growing radicalization unprecedented in Canadian history for its breadth, depth and thrust.

A third of Canada's population, the Québécois nation, has shaken the Canadian capitalist state to its very roots through its growing struggle for national independence. Stimulated by the national struggle of the Québécois, other oppressed nationalities have begun to fight back -- the Acadiens and native peoples. Canada, a virtual prison house of the people, is bursting at its walls.

Throughout Canada as a whole, growing anti-imperialist sentiment has been a major component of the radicalization. More and more Canadians, revolted by Washington's bloody aggression in Indochina, are developing an understanding and identity with the popular struggles of the oppressed peoples around the world. Antiwar and anti-imperialist feelings have exploded many cold war myths. The United States, not the USSR and the workers states, is now seen as the aggressive military force.

The U.S. is seen by growing numbers of Canadians as a crisis wracked, violent society. They are rejecting the myth that Canada's link to U.S. imperialism has benefited the Canadian people and are increasingly opposed to the mounting U.S. domination of the Canadian economy.

There is a growing sense of Canadian identity, of Canadian nationalism. The massive demonstrations against the Amchitka bomb test in the fall of 1971 – the largest political demonstrations in Canadian history – revealed the depth of this sentiment.

A key element in this radicalization is the youth, fighting back against a system that fails to meet their needs and violates their sense of justice. For youth the promise of the future is crushed by the reality of the present. In the school system, at both secondary and university levels, youth are being trained to service the sophisticated technological plant of modern capitalism — to perpetuate a system that breeds war, racism, sexism, poverty, pollution and unemployment. The specter of millions of youth questioning the viability of a system they are being moulded to run is a frightening fact before the Canadian ruling class.

The youth radicalization has generated a response from a number of other oppressed and frustrated elements of the population. Women, one half the population and a third of the work force, are entering the radicalization, striking out at some of the basic pillars upon which the Canadian capitalist system has been built. The growing fight for an end to state-enforced motherhood through repeal of the anti-abortion laws in the Criminal Code is projecting thousands of Canadian women for the first time into action on a massive scale to take control of their lives.

Others are on the move; tenants, old-age pensioners, gays, prison inmates, have entered the process still only in its infancy. Can the demands raised by those presently in action and those coming into the struggle be satisfied by alterations or adjustments within the framework of the present system?

Not at all. Canadian capitalism, an integral part of the world capitalist order, has no perspective of advance. The entire history of Canada has prepared the present process. The present radicalization strikes at the very roots of Canadian capitalism. It will inevitably deepen and broaden, draw into itself the powerful ranks of the Canadian working class, enabling it to take the massive action that is necessary to propel Canada to the next stage of its development – the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement with socialism.

### **The Nature of Capitalism in Canada**

Canada, in its own particular and compressed way, has gone through all the processes of social evolution experienced by western civilization. The primitive communal society of the Native people that prevailed when the white man came to this continent was destroyed in blood and iron. What survived was shoved on to the outer edges of the community. The neo-feudal regime, artificially imposed in the settled areas of New France, was in turn brushed aside. The agents of the capitalist forces that triumphed in Britain and later in France through great revolutionary deeds, imposed private property on the means of production and the conditions of wage labor on the newly developing continent. The outline of Canadian history is not unique. Canada has developed fully in accord with the laws of history analyzed by Marx.

The formation of the Canadian state is the historical aftermath of the failure of the colonial liberation movement in North America to win victory for all the British colonies. The Canadian bourgeoisie came into control of the state not in conflict with the British colonial power but with its assistance. The less developed social relations in British North America, aggravated by the social and cultural isolation of Quebec with its transplanted feudalism, did not permit the successful completion of the national-democratic insurrection of 1837-38. Industrial capital was only nascent; merchant capital was predominantly English-speaking and allied with British colonialism. Thrust forward in the vanguard of the revolt, the farmers, self-employed and weak but developing working class, were unable to lead it to victory.

The formation of a unified state from Atlantic to Pacific, when it came 30 years later, was motivated for the local bourgeoisie and British alike by mutually advantageous considerations. The rising class of Canadian capitalists, in alliance with British capital, required their own state to develop the home market and to put the Francophone nation in a numerical and legislative minority once and for all. British capitalism having lost the United States was interested in abandoning progressively the military and administrative burden of empire in the North, and developing an outlet for investment capital.

Both British and Canadian bourgeoisies were apprehensive of U.S. expansionist designs to the North and West following the successful conclusion of the Second American Revolution, the civil war which established the hegemony of the industrial bourgeoisie over the entire United States.

Thus Canada, unlike the United States, was not born of revolution, but was formed with the acquiescence of the British imperial power.

Confederation had no popular origins or support. Where it was put to a vote it was defeated.

Having come to power in a “cold” way, without mass popular struggles and support, the Canadian bourgeoisie was slow to cast off its colonial legacy. And when it did, it was already overshadowed by the expanding power of the American colossus to its south.

Not until 1854 did the Legislative Assembly of the Canadas provide for the suppression of feudal tenures and duties – 60 years after their abolition by the French Revolution! It was not until well into the twentieth century that Ottawa’s rulers established full autonomy over foreign and military policy. Only in 1949 were legal appeals to the British House of Lords abolished. Many democratic rights were won at a late date. Women got the vote only 30 years ago in Quebec.

Nowhere was the belated character of the Canadian bourgeoisie’s development more evident than in its economic dependence on foreign capital, first British, then American.

But its historical belatedness in no way negates the Canadian bourgeoisie’s existence as an independent capitalist class with state power. Rather, such factors as geography, relatively small accumulation of capital at the beginning, lent extraordinary importance to the role of the central state in establishing and extending capitalist interests, and contributed to the great centralization and monopolization of Canadian capital of today.

Beginning with the protective tariffs of Macdonald’s “National Policy” and the vast public funds poured into railway construction, the Canadian bourgeoisie has consciously used its control of the state to establish and develop key sectors of the economy — and thereby buttress its own wealth and authority.

Today the Canadian state sector is equivalent to the value of the assets of all foreign-owned branch plants in manufacturing.

To this direct economic power of the Canadian capitalist state must be added the domination of key sectors of the economy by private Canadian capital — banks, insurance and trust companies, steel, agricultural machinery, pulp and paper, etc.

Canadian banks are among the world’s biggest, boasting assets of more than \$50 billion – enough theoretically to buy back all the assets of foreign owned firms in Canada.

But while the Canadian state has played an essential role in the development and maintenance of Canadian capitalism, the Canadian capitalist class has given its primary allegiance to capital – undifferentiated capital.

Thus while in control of the state, Canadian capitalists lack full control over key sectors of the economy. In the beginning, it was British investment capital that flowed into the country to finance the railways, to swell the private fortunes of the railway promoters and their Canadian partners and agents. Today, Canada is dominated by U.S. capital – the highest rate of U.S. direct investment of any other advanced country in the world. While most British capital was portfolio investment largely repaid by the 1920s, most U.S. capital is direct investment in plants and technology, where the foreign-based parent retains full control over all key economic decisions affecting the branch plant or subsidiary.

U.S. domination is increasing in nearly all sectors of the economy. It is relatively recent – most of it having entered Canada after the Second Imperialist War and particularly following the Korean War; and is concentrated in the most profitable sectors, which under capitalism are also the key “growth” sectors.

As a self-governed state, with a strong indigenous ruling class, Canada is not a colony. Nor is it a semi-colony; the Canadian bourgeoisie controls the internal market, and protects the interests of Canadian capital. Canada is a dependent capitalist state dominated by U.S. capital. The Canadian bourgeoisie is a partner with U.S. imperialism in the

exploitation of labor and resources both in Canada and abroad. And, in view of its relative strength in relation to U.S. capital, it is a **junior** partner.

Canadian capitalism, born and raised at the high point of the development of capitalism as a worldwide system, is both imperialist and imperialized.

### **An Imperialist Power at Home and abroad**

Canada is an imperialist power in its own right. Brutal exploiters of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, the Canadian capitalist class has a bigger stake in foreign investment (relative to its total holdings) than even its U.S. counterparts. Canada's overseas direct investment of \$5 billion, concentrated in a handful of huge imperialist corporations, exploits holdings in 61 countries, operating in close alliance with U.S. imperialism.

Canadian imperialism is also the target of the rebellion of the people of its own internal colony, Quebec. The Canadian capitalist class has a big economic stake in the exploitation of Quebec. The Québécois nation is dominated by foreign capital, the bulk of which is Anglo-Canadian. It has served as a huge pool of cheap labor affording super-profits for Anglo-Canadian and American investors.

### **Canada - U.S. relations**

Shaken by the power of the rising colonial revolution in the postwar period, U.S. imperialism looked to more stable territories for the investment of its enormous private pools of capital. Export of capital through the establishment of subsidiaries and the export of technology replaced the export of manufactured goods as the main axis of U.S. imperialist expansion. Postwar capitalism has sought a maximum possible extension of the capitalist market at the periphery. Thus U.S. imperialism has no interest in "de-industrializing" Canada, whose internal market is an important outlet for U.S. manufactured goods.

Canada has been major recipient of this U.S. capital. The value of U.S. subsidiaries in Canada exceeds the amount of total U.S. direct investment in Europe and the total U.S. investment in Central and South America.

The Canadian bourgeoisie has fully accepted the logic of "continentalism," the existence of the common North American market, embracing both countries, in which goods and services are exchanged with a minimum of restrictions. This relationship is epitomized by the highly integrated automobile industry – dominated by U.S. capital, but rationalized on a continental scale with some of the most productive plant situated on the Canadian side of the border, producing for twice the needs of the Canadian market. Both bourgeoisies profit from this interpenetration of capital, reflected in the large number of Canadian capitalists who sit on the boards of directors of the big U.S. branch plants operating in Canada.

This integration of capital is also expressed in the political "special relationship" which has long obtained between Washington and Ottawa, and is now being regarded with increasing skepticism and revulsion by growing numbers of Canadians. The U.S. bourgeoisie has stabilized Canadian capitalism by exempting the extensive U.S. investment in Canada from many restrictive tax, trade and investment regulations and programs. It has put Canadian imperialist investments round the world, many of which are fronts for U.S. imperialist corporations, under the military protection of the Pentagon.

In turn, Canada has accepted U.S. corporations' flagrant violation of Canadian laws. It has allied with the U.S. militarily and diplomatically, defending all down the line even the most unpopular U.S. actions such as the assault on the Vietnamese people.

The historical record is crystal clear. Canadian capitalism, under pressure of necessity, has oriented fully towards interdependency with the U.S. imperialists on a continental scale, at the expense of Canada's working people.

When Canadian ministers forayed to Washington last fall to plead special exemption from Nixon's balance of payments measures, the major argument they reportedly invoked was precisely that the weight of U.S. investment in Canada made

it certain that such measures applied to that investment would severely hurt U.S. capitalist interests. Similarly, Trudeau's milquetoast foreign takeovers legislation, proposed nothing about existing heavy foreign investment, which, official studies indicate, would continue to increase its relative weight in the Canadian economy even if all future foreign takeovers were banned.

If the continental integration of Canada and the United States under capitalist rule has resulted in intensifying the contradictions which flow from capitalist development, it also points to the direction of economic, social and political life under socialism – through the creation of a united socialist states of North America. The socialist integration of North America will be democratically instituted and planned by all the nations involved in the interests of the working people.

The Canadian bourgeoisie is dependent upon U.S. capital, but it has a highly developed consciousness of its own interests as a ruling class. And like all ruling classes, it is prepared to defend its enormous wealth and privileges against the coming explosions of the masses it exploits.

Canadian capitalism was born in the blood and gore of the colonizers' efforts to exterminate the original inhabitants. The armed forces of the state have again and again been brought to bear against sections of the population that have taken the initiative to move out with the strength of their numbers to defend themselves against their exploiters — to win basic elementary democratic rights, defend their livelihoods, struggle for their self-determination and freedom. The armed might of the capitalist state has been used against two national uprisings of the Métis and Indians; it has been used to force conscription on the Québécois during two imperialist wars and to support the bosses in numerous struggles such as the 1919 Winnipeg general strike and the hunger marches of the 1930s. In October of 1970 the Trudeau cabinet summoned them once again against the Québécois nation (*imposing the War Measures Act during the FLQ crisis —ed.*).

During the second imperialist war the entire Japanese-Canadian community on the West coast — 35,000 persons, were uprooted from their homes, jobs and property, and shipped inland to concentration camps. Some of the most cherished civil liberties, the right of assembly, free speech, publication, have been snuffed out with the stroke of a pen of the bourgeois cabinet.

The powerful nationalist sentiment and movement in Quebec has posed a mighty challenge to the centralized state structures of Canadian capitalism. The organized working class, two million strong, has moved out in political resistance to the untrammelled rule of the capitalist class through their political arm, the New Democratic Party.

The pages of Canada's real history are filled with many such attempts by the working masses to defend themselves by utilizing their enormous collective strength as a class.

In the period of revolutionary change that lies ahead, it is this huge creative force that has the power and resources to resolve Canada's intensifying contradictions, by continuing its struggle through to its logical end – the socialist revolution.

### **3. THE CHALLENGE TO CANADIAN CAPITALISM**

#### **- The Québécois struggle for National Emancipation**

In the last decade, Québécois nationalism has grown on an unprecedented scale, challenging the over 100 years of national oppression within the Canadian state with the call for an independent and French Quebec.

Quebec is an oppressed nation within Confederation, possessing its own language, culture, historical traditions and powerful collective consciousness.

The apologists for the oppression of Quebec treat it as a "province like the others." Quebec suffers from the most blatant national discrimination, especially against the French language, from chronically depressed wages and from permanently high rates of unemployment.

The economic exploitation of the working masses of Quebec by Canadian and U.S. corporations and their Quebec agents is reinforced and “legalized” by the political oppression maintained by the central Ottawa government. Under the Canadian constitution – an act of the British parliament — Quebec is denied not only its independent statehood for which increasing numbers of Québécois are now struggling, but even elementary recognition as a nation with the democratic right to self-determination up to and including the right to secede.

The whole history of the Québécois demonstrates their revolt against the oppression of their nation — from the 1837 rebellion to the conscription crises in two world wars to the May 1972 strike wave of Quebec workers.

But the upsurge of Québécois nationalism and the rise of the independentist Parti Québécois leave no doubt that the working class in Quebec is moving decisively toward the historic option of independence.

The nationalism and independentism of the Québécois is that of an oppressed nation against its oppressor – the Canadian federal state and the Anglo-Canadian and American corporations which exploit the natural resources and labor of the Québécois nation.

Central to the national oppression of the Québécois is the discrimination against the French language. Because of the domination of Quebec society by huge American and Anglo-Canadian corporations, the French language is under a constantly increasing threat of destruction. The French language is crucial to the survival of the Québécois nation; its destruction would consign the Québécois to rapid assimilation into English Canada.

The pressure on the French language has increased with the mounting immigration of non-Francophones into Quebec and with such laws as Bill 63 which reinforces the privileged position of the English language in Quebec by according it “equal” status in law.

The mass struggle against language oppression — in defense of the French language – has been central to the current nationalist struggle in Quebec, a constant theme running through the 1968 CEGEP (*junior college*) occupations, the mass demonstrations against Bill 63, the McGill-Français struggle and the 1972 strike wave.

The Québécois are demanding that French become the language of instruction in Quebec public schools and the language of work — a struggle which sharply exposes the central contradiction in Quebec, its domination by foreign English speaking capital.

Discrimination against the Québécois on the basis of their language is built into the system of capitalist exploitation in Quebec. The big imperialist corporations are not willing to pay the costs involved in conducting Quebec operations in French. Discrimination against the French-speaking workers is the medium through which chronically depressed wage differentials are maintained.

Imperialist corporations such as General Motors have stood their ground on this elementary national right of the Québécois, rejecting out of hand demands by the United Automobile Workers at Ste-Therèse that French be written into the contract despite the fact that Liberal premier Robert Bourassa felt compelled to verbally support the union demand. The Ottawa and Quebec governments, far from extending and protecting French language rights, have declared Quebec a “bilingual district” – giving the green light to the foreign corporations to maintain their discrimination against French.

The experience of the last ten years has proven that to defend their language the Québécois will have to mount powerful massive popular actions against their oppressors. This struggle directly confronts the imperialist oppressors who block the emancipation of the nation.

Quebec’s oppressors — especially the federal government in Ottawa — were not slow to appreciate the revolutionary dynamic of the upsurge of Quebec nationalism.

In October 1970 the Trudeau Cabinet — on “invitation” from Bourassa and Drapeau – seized the occasion of the FLQ (*Front de Libération du Québec*) kidnappings and the pretext of an “apprehended insurrection” in Montreal to unleash the armed terror of the Federal state against the growing nationalist movement in Quebec.

Trudeau's attempt to intimidate and roll back the independentist movement (through sweeping arrests, suspension of civil liberties, army occupation, etc.) did not succeed. Only momentarily stunned, the mass movement in Quebec rallied to the defense of imprisoned nationalist and union leaders and exposed the sham of Ottawa's claims in the Montreal sedition trials.

The widespread opposition to War Measures extended into English Canada bringing about an increase in sympathy and support for Quebec's rights to self-determination in important sections of the population – the campuses, the NDP, unions, etc. Trudeau's reactionary offensive against Quebec was turned back, setting the stage for the resurgence of the Québécois struggle which came in the fall of 1971 with big demonstrations in defense of the French language and in support of the (*Montreal daily*) **La Presse** workers.

The October 1971 events prefaced the massive national upsurge in April and May 1972, the powerful mass strike wave triggered by the jailing of the Québécois trade union leaders and by the Liberal government's strike-breaking legislation against the public service workers.

The May strike wave spread spontaneously across the nation, drawing in public and private sector workers alike, cutting across the formal organizational divisions between the trade union federations through the formation of common fronts.

The revolt snowballed rapidly. In some centres, court houses, radio and TV stations — instruments and symbols of ruling class power — were taken over. Several towns and cities, such as Sept-Iles, where the contrast between the wealth and arrogant privileges of the English bosses stands out most sharply against the oppression faced daily by French-speaking workers, were taken over and directed by strike committees.

The May upsurge came on the heels of the public workers strike which itself had revealed the heightened militancy and consciousness of whole new layers of the Quebec work force – civil servants, hospital workers and professional layers such as nurses, teachers, technicians and engineers. Very low-paid, yet often highly skilled; many of them youth and doubly exploited women workers, they have been a major force in the recent radicalization of the Quebec trade unions.

Stimulated by the repeated clashes with their rulers in recent years, by the rediscovery of their past and the sources of their oppression, and by the circulation of the radical nationalist, anticapitalist manifestos by their union leadership, the militants of the Quebec unions are now engaged in an historic mass discussion of the program they require for their national and social emancipation.

The strike upsurge in the spring of 1972 revealed the dynamic interpenetration and interaction of national and class consciousness — confirming that the nationalism of the Québécois is “the envelope of their social indignation.” It confirmed that the working class is already playing and will continue to play a decisive role in the Québécois national liberation struggle.

Nothing Canada's rulers have at their disposal can stop this deep flowing process – the drive of the Québécois masses to move on to the political arena to gain their national independence.

Faced with the growing unity and power of the Québécois masses the Canadian ruling class may attempt to block the struggle for an independent and French Quebec by conceding some limited “sovereignty-association” status through the reformist framework of the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois, to which the Québécois masses are now turning.

But, having cracked the prison walls forced upon them with the formation of the central state in 1867, the Quebec revolution will find the resources to take it beyond the reformist capitalist program of the Parti Québécois to establish control by the nation of all its resources through a socialist Quebec.

## The Youth Radicalization

The developing crisis of world imperialism is reflected in the radicalization of the youth. An unprecedented phenomenon on a world scale, this deep-going radicalization is having a major impact on political life in all the advanced capitalist countries.

Underlying this radicalization has been the permanent technological revolution of postwar imperialism with its permanent arms race. Capitalism, in need of a highly skilled work force, has carried out a vast expansion of educational facilities at all levels. In the last 30 years, government spending on education has increased 30-fold – from the prewar \$129 million to over \$4 billion today. From schools solely for the education of the wealthy, the universities have become giant education factories to create new layers of highly specialized, skilled workers. As a result during the 1960s alone, university enrollment increased five-fold to 500,000; total student population in all forms of schools is about 4,000,000. Seven out of ten students now come from families whose annual income is less than \$10,000. For the typical university student today, university is a brief interlude between a working class upbringing and a job in the working class or unemployment.

The narrow social function of the schools and universities — to service the monopolies and disseminate bourgeois ideology — conflicts with the students' tendency to generalize their knowledge and their awareness of and sympathy toward the revolutionary process developing on a world scale.

Antiwar and anti-imperialist consciousness has played a big role in radicalizing students leading them to raise profound questions about the nature of the society in which they live – the capitalist system.

Students are moving into action in solidarity with revolutionary struggles around the world. They are challenging the role of the university as an instrument of capitalism. Their struggles pose the need for the educational system to be geared to their own interests and needs of the oppressed peoples and classes with whom broad layers of the students identify. Students are increasingly unwilling to accept a school system that fails to explain the nature of this society, or teach the history of the working people, or to equip them to play a productive role in society – an educational system that places its scientists and sophisticated equipment at the service of repression and war.

As a distinct layer of society sensitive to the contradictions of capitalism students are demonstrating a willingness to engage in militant mass actions to transform their places of learning. The schools have become arenas of discontent and are often seen by student activists as a base from which to initiate their struggles against targets ranging from U.S. imperialism's genocidal aggression in Vietnam to the authoritarian structures of the educational institution.

When 50,000 Québécois students took over their CEGEPs in October 1968, ejecting the administrators in some, and running them in their own interests, they were demanding that the schools be turned over to the Québécois nation to be used to build an independent and French Quebec.

When Washington proceeded with plans to explode the Amchitka nuclear bomb in November 1971, in callous disregard of Canadian fears about its possible effects on environment and health, many thousands of youth across Canada went into action, using their schools and their campuses as organizing centres. Their demonstrations sparked a massive work stoppage by the B.C. labor movement.

Over the past decade the Canadian ruling class has responded to the growing challenge of the student movement with both concessions (student loans, women's studies courses, student participation on administrative bodies, etc.) and with repression (arrest and fines of 114 Simon Fraser (*Burnaby BC university*) students, jailing of Sir George (*Williams University, Montreal – now Concordia U. – ed.*) students, injunctions against Acadian students at University of Moncton, the use of police to back up administration control in Quebec CEGEPs, etc.)

Today students are engaging in dramatic actions against cutbacks in education spending. The cutbacks result from the efforts of the ruling class, in the face of constricted opportunities for trade and investment, to increase productivity and maintain profits by paring educational costs – raising the question of where social priorities lie under capitalism, with the monopolies or the students.

The present capitalist efforts to rationalize the education system only heighten the contradictions facing students – lack of access to higher education, authoritarian schools, the distortion of education to serve capitalism, the lack of jobs available upon graduation. This, together with the continuing rise of the world revolution, impels the student movement, now reaching down into the high schools, into renewed mass actions and further politicization.

## **The Feminist Revolt**

The women's movement is questioning and repudiating the most fundamental and sacrosanct bourgeois social norms and institutions of class society — family, church, sexual norms, the alleged biological inferiority of women. The depth of this still young movement is indicated in the proliferation of seminars, consciousness-raising groups, women's studies courses and journals, which are challenging all the myths used to justify the centuries-old oppression of women. Feminists are studying the pre-class communal and matriarchal societies of their suppressed history, in order to discover the road to their emancipation today.

The economic, social and ideological dependency of bourgeois society on the oppression of women as a sex gives the new feminist movement a deep-going anticapitalist dynamic. Women cannot liberate themselves within the framework of capitalist property relations.

Women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the nuclear family which under capitalism shifts the costs of reproduction of the labor force onto the workers, and plays a leading role in "socializing" children for the capitalist labor market. The isolated family unit confronts women as a prison where they toil without pay – economically dependent on and socially subordinate to the male "head of the household" on whose slender income the family depends. Woman is the slave of a slave. The narrow horizons of household drudgery and childrearing are the "calling" towards which woman are channeled from early childhood.

Behind the new rise of feminism are two powerful phenomena: 1) the contrast between society's increasing technological capacity to assume responsibility for the onerous tasks of housework and childrearing, and the ongoing reality of the drudgery and isolation of the nuclear family; and 2) the rise of the new radicalization. Many women have already participated in other radicalizing mass movements where they are led to question the entire social system, including women's oppression, and where they come to recognize their need to organize independently as women to combat that oppression.

In Canada the growing demand by women for control of their bodies and control over their lives has come to focus on the right to abortion — the demand for repeal of anti-abortion laws from the Criminal Code. This struggle strikes deep at the oppression of women, the chaining of women into the family through state-enforced motherhood. The struggle for abortion law repeal has brought the feminist movement into confrontation with the ideological and political mainstays of bourgeois reaction – the Catholic Church and the Federal government, which are increasingly exposed as united in opposition to women's rights.

Women are an absolute majority of the Canadian population, and over one-third of the active labor force. The feminist movement, organized independently as a conscious, self-acting force, will play a powerful role in the politicization of the entire working class.

The growing feminist movement has affected every mass institution in Canada from the unions to the church. It poses a society free of sexism where the upbringing of children is a social responsibility. It calls for an environment free of poverty and war. The feminist movement is bringing thousands of women into action against the system whose very fabric is woven with sexism, poverty and war.

## **The Radicalization spreads**

The challenge to the Canadian capitalist state is now encompassing other oppressed sectors of Canadian society. The revolt of the Native peoples and the Acadiens against their national oppression is an increasingly important component of the radicalization.

The more than half million Native people are mobilizing in struggles for self-determination and sovereignty. Recognition of treaty and aboriginal rights, autonomy of the reserves, financial and technical resources to develop the reserves economically, and control over schools and education in native languages – all these and other demands advanced by native militants challenge frontally the sole perspective held out for the Native people by white capitalist society, cultural and national genocide.

Today's native rights movement, a revolt against the wretched poverty imposed by capitalism on this country's original inhabitants, is inspired by the rise of national minorities and aboriginal peoples the world over. As they rediscover their origins as a sovereign people in primitive communist and matriarchal society, the Native people can come to see the revolutionary implications of their struggle for sovereignty today.

In their rejection of the white man's racist norms and divisions — treaty-nontreaty, status-nonstatus, registered-nonregistered, etc., — Native people are developing a growing sense of common nationhood, based on their unique languages, culture, territorial integrity (reserves), and above all their consciousness as an oppressed nationality that is unassimilable by capitalism.

Today's Acadian national struggle is rooted in the regional underdevelopment of the Atlantic provinces, and the Acadians' emergence as a self-conscious developing nation with its own 350-year-old historical traditions, culture, language (a distinct dialect of French), and territory (concentrated in eastern and northern New Brunswick). Despite its long history of oppression of the Acadians, beginning with their expulsion and dispersal by the British in 1755, capitalism has been unable to assimilate and destroy the Acadians economically or culturally. Today the 300,000 Acadians account for about 40 percent of New Brunswick's population.

The Acadian national movement is fueled by the high unemployment and declining economic prospects of northeastern New Brunswick. It is inspired by the independence movement of the neighboring Québécois.

As the radicalization deepens a whole range of struggles are developing as layer upon layer of the oppressed move into action against the particular forms of oppression they suffer under capitalism. Organizations of the poor, of gays, welfare recipients, tenants and old age pensioners have recently been formed in Canada's major cities.

### **Canadian Nationalism - A New Factor in the Radicalization**

The growing opposition to U.S. influence in Canadian life is of particular importance to the new radicalization affecting many of the developing movements. A national consciousness has developed through wide layers of the Canadian population around this sentiment, this growing awareness of the fact that the ruling class has tied Canada to the U.S. imperialist colossus.

This new nationalism has nothing in common with the bourgeois nationalism in Canadian history that has been utilized to imprison the Québécois in Confederation and to rally the working people to support wars serving the interests of the Canadian capitalist class. Rather it finds its historical antecedents in the powerful anti-imperialist traditions of the Canadian people going back to the struggles of the Québécois in the 18th century, the rebellion of 1837-38, the Riel rebellions and the opposition of labor and the Québécois to conscription.

Canadian nationalism flows out of the world-wide radicalization focused against the ruthless brutality of Wall Street and Washington – global cop for imperialism. A majority of Canadians are repulsed by the arrogance of U.S. imperialism as exemplified in its naked aggression against Vietnam.

More and more Canadians are concerned over the impact of the U.S. capitalist colossus on Canada's economic, social and political life. They are coming to see the U.S. as a violent, racist, sexist huckster society. Canadians resent blatant violations of Canadian law by U.S. based corporations leading to loss of jobs and trade by Canada. Students object to domination of the governing boards of their schools by officials from U.S. corporations, the utilization of the campuses for research to serve for the U.S. war machine and the widespread use of American textbooks and course outlines to the detriment of studies on Canadian life and problems.

The increasing awareness by Canadian unionists of the conservatizing role of the trade union bureaucracy has been heightened by the knowledge of its interdependence with the racist, pro-war U.S. AFL-CIO hierarchy and sharpened the struggle for democracy in the unions around the question of Canadian autonomy.

More recently the shutdowns, layoffs and even efforts to bring the Nixon wage controls into Canada by U.S. corporations have produced a widespread questioning of the direction Canada is being taken by its ever closer economic alliance with U.S. capitalism.

The impact of this new force, this developing Canadian nationalism, was evident in the massive protests which erupted in B.C., quickly spreading right across the country, against the Amchitka test in the fall of 1971 (*in the Aleutian Islands off Alaska and NW B.C.*). Opposition to the nuclear blast mushroomed as Canadians reacted swiftly and militantly to the obvious overwhelming arrogance of the U.S. superpower, its flagrant disregard and disrespect for the rights, needs and wishes of the Canadian people.

Initiated by B.C. high school students, the anti-Amchitka protest mobilized university students, church groups, ecology groups, city and town councils and culminated in the calling of the first political strike by the B.C. Federation of Labor since 1919.

This new nationalism, most intense among the student youth, finds a response among significant layers of Canada's working people but finds no support from any significant sector or party of the ruling class. Quite the opposite. The Canadian bourgeoisie, conscious that their fate is inextricably bound up with the fate of U.S. capitalism, accepting their role as junior partner to the U.S. bourgeoisie, is firmly united against the anti-imperialist thrust of Canadian nationalism – a thrust which leads in the direction of calling into question the whole capitalist system that breeds war and racism and violence.

The Canadian ruling class, despite their efforts, have found no point of leverage to head off this developing anti-imperialist sentiment. Diefenbaker's ridiculous invocation of antiquated British monarchical vestiges, Walter Gordon's ill-fated Committee for an Independent Canada (a response to the NDP), only expose their inability to meet this growing sentiment.

The reason is clear and expressed openly by the rulers themselves. The President of the Toronto Stock Exchange explained to a Vancouver audience that:

“There is an anti-American element that exists in Canada, but it is less than the anti-American element that exists in the United States itself. Anti-Americanism in Canada, as in the United States is really an attack on our social system of which America is the most visible example.”

Making clear that for the ruling class “anti-American” means anti-capitalist, he reveals why the developing Canadian nationalism, far from expressing chauvinist support for the Canadian state, is an expression of the deep-going radicalization unfolding across this country.

The anticapitalist thrust of Canadian nationalism is revealed through the New Democratic Party, the party of labor in Canada, and especially through the rise of the Waffle left with its call for an independent socialist Canada, where this sentiment has found political expression.

This sentiment is not the nationalism of a colonial or semi-colonial people. It is not the same as the nationalism of the Québécois. In Quebec the struggle for national freedom and independence is the envelope of the whole radicalization. By contrast, Canadian nationalist sentiment is an important and potent force in an already powerful radicalization taking place in an advanced and highly developed capitalist country in which a massive working class with powerful unions and a mass political party are already engaged in struggle against the Canadian monopolists who rule this country and profit in their bloody exploitative alliance with U.S. imperialism.

Canadian nationalism, as it did in the mass Amchitka protests, serves to quicken, animate and amplify the issues raised by the radicalizing movements and issuing from the class struggle, to generalize their impact, draw in wider forces and make more militant the struggles developing around a wide range of issues and demands of the oppressed and exploited against

Canadian capitalism. This nationalist sentiment is in reality a growing opposition to the very nature of the world imperialist system of which Canada is an integral part tied to U.S. imperialism at its head. It raises profound questions in the minds of increasing numbers of Canadians about the commitment of Canada's ruling class to the U.S.-run war alliances NATO and NORAD and about Canadian capitalist economic partnership with the U.S.-based monopolies operating more and more clearly in the eyes of working people and youth for profit and not in the interests of the masses of the Canadian population. In its whole direction Canadian nationalist sentiment challenges Canada's "special relationship" with the United States. In so doing it opposes the perspective of Canada's capitalist rulers — the further interlocking of a capitalist Canada with the fate of a more hated, more feared U.S. imperialism.

Canadian nationalism poses the question — who rules Canada? How can Canadians come into control of their own destiny, their own economy? The path to these goals is the path of struggle against the tiny owning and ruling class of Canadian monopolists that sees eye to eye with the U.S. imperialists and collaborates eagerly with them in the exploitation of working people in Canada and around the world for profit. It is the path to a socialist Canada.

### **The Radicalization of the Working Class**

The developing radicalization, its breadth and depth, lays bare the question of class rule, on which the Canadian profit system is based. The oppressed Québécois nation, youth, women, students and working people together make up the vast majority of the population. Their struggles pit them directly against the handful of Canadian capitalists, who in alliance with U.S. capital, have placed their drive for increased profits against the needs of the majority.

The radicalization is driving the Québécois to the left, to the independentist but bourgeois Parti Québécois which they hope will serve as an instrument for social change. The tempo and precise form that the mass independent class politicization of Quebec workers will take on is not yet clear. It is by no means excluded that the PQ will serve as the labor reformist experience of the class and clear the way for the direct building of the revolutionary socialist vanguard party.

In English Canada the fundamentally anticapitalist thrust of the radicalization is expressed in its growing links and political impact on the ranks of the New Democratic Party.

The NDP, with its quarter million affiliated trade union members, is the continuation and advancement of a long tradition of independent working class politics in Canada, going back to the NDP's predecessor, the farmer based Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and the small Social Democratic and labor parties which preceded it.

A radical agrarian and anticapitalist party, formed out of the protest movements in the Hungry Thirties, the CCF formed the government of Saskatchewan in 1944. Forged in the process of the urbanization and industrialization of Canada, driven together in struggle against the terrible poverty of the great depression and a powerful drive to reap some of the benefits of their labor during and after the war, the working class forged a powerful and massive industrial union structure. These unions, organized in the CIO, began early to look to the CCF as their political expression independent of the parties of the ruling class against which they struggled. With the formation of the powerful central labor body, the Canadian Labor Congress in 1958, the basis was laid for launching a new labor party with the CCF, by now more and more a party based on the working class sectors of the biggest industrial centres. In a tumultuous convention, the largest political convention in Canadian history to 1961, the New Democratic party was founded.

The NDP with its base in the mass organizations of the working class and the urban working class sectors of the population, thrown up in the struggle against the Canadian bourgeoisie, has become and will remain for a whole period the focus of working class politics, posing through its mass character as an alternative to the capitalist parties the necessity and possibility of a workers' and farmers' government in Ottawa, and the provinces.

But while the radicalization poses the necessity for revolutionary change, the NDP with its liberal reformist leadership, linked to the conservative trade union bureaucracy does not. It is the generalized expression of the present level of political consciousness of the working people, the first step on the road to independent working class political action — a break with the capitalist political parties — but a break within the framework of reformism.

The NDP leadership is parliamentarist, wholly committed to bourgeois electoral politics despite the fact that the ruling class has shown time and time again, from the Winnipeg general strike to the War Measures crisis, that it is in no way committed to parliamentary democracy – that it is prepared to even use the armed might of its state to preserve its interests. The reformist outlook of the NDP leadership commits it to the structures of the Canadian capitalist state, lining it up against the independence struggle of the Québécois, preventing the NDP from having any significant influence among Québécois workers.

The NDP will never be able to lead the developing crisis of Canadian capitalism through to the socialist revolution now developing. But it is through and in the New Democratic Party and the experience with NDP governments that the working people will test the reformism of their present leadership and will be confronted through their own political experience with the necessity of taking the revolutionary road, the road of constructing a mass revolutionary workers party.

The development of the Waffle left wing in the NDP in 1969 expressed the impulsion of the radicalization to link itself to the organized working class movement.

The Waffle expressed the rising concern in Canada over increasing U.S. domination. It challenged the narrow parliamentarist and liberal reformist outlook of the NDP leadership and trade union bureaucracy. It brought before NDP ranks a program which argued that there can be no independence from the exploitation and oppression of U.S. imperialism without a fundamental social change – that is without public ownership and democratic control by the working people of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy.

At the 1971 federal convention of the NDP, this formation received the support of 37 percent of the delegates for its leadership candidate around a radical anticapitalist program projecting support for the women's liberation movement, Québécois self-determination, militant working class struggle against growing unemployment and plant shutdowns, and nationalization of Canada's energy resource industries.

Fearing the anticapitalist thrust of the radicalization expressed through the Waffle program, the NDP leadership and its bureaucratic union allies declared war on the radicalization in the party, by proscribing its organized expression in the Ontario NDP in June 1972.

The reformist leadership of the NDP remains in firm control of the NDP. Nevertheless the debate and turmoil over the bankruptcy of the leaderships reformist program has never been greater. The struggle around the Waffle points to a deepening impact of the radicalization on the NDP and the working class as a whole in which the necessity of a new class struggle leadership, prepared to lead a struggle for working class power and revolutionary change will be posed sharply before the working class.

## **From Radicalization to Revolution**

The radicalization now challenging capitalism in Canada is in its infancy. Yet it clearly shows that no section of Canadian society is too oppressed or backward to struggle. Each sector of the radicalization that goes into motion around its own needs and with its own tempo, raising its own demands and challenges to the system, interacts with and reinforces the radicalization in other sectors. Most important, the radicalization moves quickly beyond the control of and against the ruling class and its political parties and against the capitalist state.

The radicalization of the 1930s was dissipated and derailed by the pacifist reformism of the CCF, the class- collaborationist Stalinization of the Communist party and – ultimately – the patriotic fervor of World War II. Today's radicalization is, by contrast, proceeding outside and to a large extent against the hostility of the Communist party. And, it has already through the Waffle experience entered into the process leading to an understanding of the limitations of the NDP leadership. Moreover, it is developing within the context of a deep-going world-wide revolutionary upsurge.

Although the radicalization has yet to move into the major organized forces of the labor movement, the rapidly changing composition of the work force ensures that it will have a big impact on the class. Already substantial components of the working class are immediately affected by the radicalizing mass movements. Women compose 34 percent of the work force; youth between the ages of 14 and 24 years, 24 percent; and Québécois, 28 percent. The work force itself, which has increased by more than 50 percent to 3.3 million in the last 18 years, has been swelled by large numbers of young workers, unencumbered by any commitments to the present workers' leadership and permeated with high expectations.

Many of them, particularly public and parapublic employees, where the bulk of new trade union organization is taking place, are fresh from the radicalizing campuses — in B.C., for example, of a labor force of just under one million, nearly 200,000 workers have some post-secondary education. Other new forces have been uprooted from declining rural areas and depressed regions like the Maritimes; many are unprepared to accept the discipline of unaccustomed industrial routines.

Out of the many and varied struggles erupting in every area and layer of Canadian society, demands are being raised which not only make the case for solving burning and pressing needs, but point to the need for revolutionary change. These demands, taken together within the context of the inability of capitalism to maintain fundamental rights and liberties, like the right to strike, or meet the most basic and fundamental needs of the majority of the population, form the program of the coming revolution.

Despite the early period of the present radicalization which will express itself in new forms at a later date, its major components now clearly and inherently challenge the state power itself, break it up and replace it with a workers' state.

The question of state power was posed in the May-June events in France in 1968. Sparked by the audacious struggles of students, over 10 million French workers mobilized, occupied the factories and workplaces, raised a wide range of demands going beyond the normal wage and job issues and tended to pose the whole question — who, which class, would rule. The French workers, drawing rapidly to their side every progressive layer and force in French society had entered the revolutionary path against the French capitalist state which faltered and hesitated and began to disintegrate, its power draining away under the power of the workers' massive upsurge. Arising in an established advanced capitalist country like Canada, the revolutionary upsurge of the French workers and their allies reveals the future revolt now forming molecularly in the ranks of Canada's working class. The French workers did not achieve power, their struggle blocked by the powerful reformist Communist Party of France and by the absence of a developed revolutionary combat party to contest with the Stalinist leadership for hegemony in the ranks of the class. It is the forging of such a leadership, already begun in Canada, that will ensure the victory of the coming Canadian revolution.

### **The developing leadership of the Coming Canadian Revolution**

The mass struggles of the working people, recorded throughout Canadian history, are struggles against a class enemy conscious of its power and its interests.

While beclouded by the myths, lies and illusions fostered by capitalism, the past struggles on which the present radicalization rests, indicate that the working people will be able to find the resources within their ranks to rise to the socialist challenge before them. They indicate they will develop the consciousness necessary to achieve their final victory, that is to develop a class struggle revolutionary leadership, with the ability to mobilize the working people in a struggle for state power.

The winning of working class power will be the most profoundly democratic act in Canadian history. The forces that have built and sustained a mighty union movement, that have created and sustained a mass political party of their own, that have resisted the troops of the ruling class brought against their struggle for national emancipation, will be able to forge the profoundly democratic instruments necessary to mobilize the vast majority of the population for such a titanic task.

In 1919, the people of Winnipeg, in order to carry forward their general strike, forged a body which sensitively represented every layer of the population — except the bosses. While the general Strike Committee co-existed with the City Council, it completely supplanted it. Its representatives, elected largely along occupational lines, subject to immediate recall, serving without pay and almost in constant session, ran the city for 41 days. This committee had the main characteristics of the workers councils that arose spontaneously in Russia in 1905 and again in 1917 when they led the seizure of power.

During the May labor upsurge in Quebec the working people forged local common fronts of their three trade union federations which in company towns like Sept-Iles became, for the duration of the strike, the authority to which the city council had to listen.

There are molecular changes taking place within the working class, and its organizations, which are preparing it for the massive struggle ahead. The rising number of rejections of contracts negotiated by the bureaucracy, the increasing challenges to and turnover of local union leaderships, the high vote often received by opposition elements at labor conventions, are evidence of a general alienation from and developing base of opposition to the class collaborationist labor leadership.

The demands already raised by the radicalizing forces in Canadian society point to the need for revolutionary change. But to win these demands, the working class will have to fashion an instrument of mass struggle capable of meeting the test. It will be an instrument that can link together and combine the struggles of different sectors and take them beyond the struggles at Winnipeg and Sept-Iles. It will be a mass revolutionary combat party, armed with a program of the masses — a transitional program — in the tradition of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky built in the heat of the radicalization leading up to the 1917 October revolution in Russia and during the revolutionary upsurge itself.

The first attempt to build such a party in Canada, through the founding of the Communist party in the 1920s, failed when that party degenerated under the impact of the Stalinization of the Soviet Union and the resulting breakup of the Third International. The working class cadres who survived this defeat, preserved the heritage and traditions of revolutionary Marxism, the accumulated lessons of the international workers struggle, through the Fourth international, founded under the leadership of Leon Trotsky in 1938.

The forces today gathered in the ranks of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, are continuing this struggle to build the mass revolutionary workers party required to bring the radicalization to its revolutionary conclusion. They are the key to the process now beginning to challenge the profit system in Canada — the process that will shove aside the reformists, who in the name of the working class mislead it and the reformists who in the name of the victorious Soviet masses in 1917 betray it.

The opportunity for the construction of the party of the socialist revolution is greater than ever before.

The coming revolutionary thrust of labor and its allies will wrench the power from the capitalist exploiters. This new power will banish the poverty and insecurity, the oppression and wars of the present outmoded system. It will place Canada on the road to our future — socialism.

*(end)*